noted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amira, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of badalkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Aziz Shakir Mujjrim (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Nawzad," the father of Nawzad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exoganous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between

of faith), Ullahu akbar, Ullahu akbar, ashhadu inna la ullahe illa llah wa ashhadu inna Muhammad rasul Ullah, "God is greatest, God is greatest, I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God," for the infant, something analogous to a Christian baptismal ceremony. He then says the name of the child loudly in its ear three times, and the formal ceremony is completed. The investigator was told that elsewhere in Kurdistan, specifically at Sulaymaniya, there are extensive celebrations connected with naming. The name itself is usually selected by the parents, who can defer its choice to the grandparents. It was also said that a name was occasionally obtained by drawing one of a number of written slips from a bag, or that it appeared to one of the parents in a dream. 553 852 [539]

The Kurds do not use family names, but occasionally add appellations which further identify the person in question. The proper names are in part derived from Arabic, among them the numerous "slaves" of God, for example, 'Abd al-Rahman, "Slave of the Merciful," or simple ones such as Anwar or Fatima. Others, like Mustafa or Izzet, have a Turkish origin, and some are purely Kurdish or Persian. On analogy from the Arabs, the parents of a child may be designated after him. Thus, the mother and father of Nawzad might be termed Dak Nawzad and Baba Nawzad respectively. A person may also be identified by the name of his father, for example, Aziz Shakir, Aziz "the son of" Shakir. For additional characterization, a man may be 551

known by his trade, as in 'Umar Chaichi, 'Umar the Tea-shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Mujrim, Shakir the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Farsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the Tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, and have the right of wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be Arabic, hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Rowanduz is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their peril.

al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public. 792 212

To illustrate further the character of the darwish, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rowanduz. The story was recorded in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iran disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology. 159 792 [124]

> My real name is Mustafa Aziz, but my name as a darwish is Khalifa Hajji Mustafa Rowanduzi. I am now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rowanduz who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Aziz who helps in my shop and the other is an infant. [551] [587]
>
> I was born in Rowanduz and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Aziz Hasan 'Usman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the schoolboys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had [857]

842 The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband subjected to
[545] neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[56], who would be able to bear him
a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[57],
[1189] by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fasting ornaments to its hair and glass
beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 *Circumcision*, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the
852 Coran. According to Juynboll[58] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not
until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Østrup[59], circumcision is performed
on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is
said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

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852 *Naming ceremony*. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the
553 child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a *mulla*, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the
child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Havva
(Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'fer, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid,*
● [551] *Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, Sardar, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afiya, Gulla, Maliha, Nahid,*
Nahida, Sahiba.

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[60]. In the case of men the addition
of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody,
also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifûr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name
to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question.
For example there were *Sheikh Taifûr* and his brother, usually called "*Mam(a)-Xal(a)*", but whose
real name was *Abdul Qadir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert.
There was also a third brother, *Kaka Rizâ* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rizâ*, who owned the village
of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifûr was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardâr*. Thus the word
sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[61] and Lees[62],
both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh"
stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[63] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is
however carried as an ordinary name"[64]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with
it no religious power or reputation of holiness[65].

[1171] Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran:[66] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are
not used by the Kurds.

55 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame
562 Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "khan" could be added to the name
of a distinguished woman[67]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella
Khan, called Sheikh Taifûr's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

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858 *The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows
184 no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

valid, and I would draw the readers attention to the seemingly very close interdependance of kinship, political and economic factors in the groups studied. 121

Preliminary note on Kurdish names

The ordinary Kurd has a single name given to him at birth of which the following are typical - Jelal, Ali, Mustafa, Hamid (Mohammad), Amin, Kharim. If it is necessary to be more specific he will give the name of his village also; thus we find that sophisticated detribalised Kurds often use the name of their village as a surname - my interpreter called himself Kharim Bakhani - Bakhani being his village of origin. Among the tribes such usage is unnecessary. 551

The title Agha will be discussed in detail later - it is usually translated "chief" and is carried by the landlords of villages and their immediate male relatives. As a title it follows the name:- thus Ali Agha, Hamid Amin Agha. To be more specific the name of the village is added:- thus Hamid Amin Agha i Haupurdan. 554

Analogous to this is the title Beg. Strictly speaking it is a turkish title but is used by some Kurds. Thus the Sorani people of Dergala call themselves Begzwada, by virtue of the fact that their leaders claim descent from the former princes of Rowanduz, who established an independent principality in the 17th/18th Century.* The use of Beg among the Sorani seems to be identical to Agha elsewhere, so to avoid confusion I refer to the chief of Dergala, Mir Hamid Amin, as Agha and not Miran or Beg as he is usually called.

Mir (prince) is similarly a turkish title which is carried by certain notables. The Agha of Rust for instance is Mir Sadik Agha and the title appears several times in the ancestry of the chiefs of Walash.

The title Sheikh does not, as in Arabia, imply tribal leadership. Normally it is reserved for religious leaders:- e.g. Sheikh Alauddin of Khalan, a leader of the Nakhshwandi sect of mystics. The name is however sometimes carried as an ordinary name. Thus Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash is not himself a religious leader. He was given the personal name Sheikh Mohammad at birth after a relative who had been a real sheikh.

The Mulla is the village priest, his precise functions are discussed later. As a title it comes before the name:- thus Mulla Mahmoud.

Hajji is the Mohammedan title for those who have visited Mecca. As few Kurds achieve this, the bearer of such a title likes to be

*See C.J.Edmonds - A Bibliography of Southern Kurdish (Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol.XXIV, 487).